

and America itself has ever sent to any enemy with which we have been engaged in combat.

We are having successes today, successes that are brought about because of sacrifices—in a lot of cases the ultimate sacrifice. That has always been the American way. While we grieve for those families who have made that ultimate sacrifice, they are going to be satisfied only when their ultimate sacrifice is rewarded with full and complete victory in the war on terror.

I believe it is important that we have this debate. It is important that the American people understand we truly are winning this war and that the wins are not measured by victories on the battlefield every day, but the victory is being measured by winning the hearts and minds of the Iraqi people. The victory is being measured by the folks who are achieving success inside Iraq, from a military standpoint, from a governmental standpoint, and from an economic standpoint.

I urge my colleagues to look at these motions very carefully, both of them, and that we defeat both motions.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the majority has expired. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I express my appreciation to the Senator from Georgia. He is a very valued member of the Armed Services Committee, as is Senator THUNE, who spoke earlier, as was Senator SESSIONS.

I think we have had a good debate. We are prepared to continue that debate as long as it is desired. We are here to stay. We feel very strongly about these issues, you know. I do not want to invade the time of my good friend.

I yield the floor at this time, and I will follow him.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I wonder if it will be possible to let the Senator from New Jersey speak for about 15 minutes and then I resume the floor?

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, if that is with no objection, the next 30 minutes is under the Senator's control.

Mr. KERRY. I understand I have unlimited time at this time, Mr. President? There is no time limit on me?

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. There is no time limit.

Mr. WARNER. That is correct.

Mr. KERRY. I just yield him 15 minutes. I don't intend to talk all night, but I hope to have the chance to speak.

Mr. WARNER. I hope we have a rotation.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. President, to decide our future in Iraq, we must first understand our past in Iraq.

Frankly, I never believed this administration's false arguments about why we should go to war in Iraq. And I believe this administration has never had a strategy for success in Iraq.

That's why I voted against the war in Iraq.

The Bush administration led us into this war based on false premises and false promises.

The Bush administration invaded Iraq without the troop numbers needed to complete the job.

The Bush administration failed to provide the troops with the equipment they needed letting them go into Iraq without proper body armor or properly armored vehicles.

The Bush administration failed to create a real international coalition so that the United States wouldn't have to bear the highest cost in blood and national treasure.

And President Bush went into the war without a plan to win the peace.

This was a war of choice, not a war of necessity.

The Bush administration's record in Iraq represents a massive failure of leadership—a massive failure of Presidential leadership.

Let me be clear. While I did not support the war, I have always supported the troops on the battlefield. Our troops have succeeded in the tasks they were given. They have fought for freedom and security in the most difficult of situations. They have risked their lives to protect ours. And the Nation is indebted to them for their service.

In New Jersey, over 3,169 New Jerseyans are serving in Iraq or Afghanistan and 71 service members with ties to New Jersey have made the ultimate sacrifice for our country in Iraq or Afghanistan and our thoughts and prayers are with them and their families. Obviously, our troops are committed to this call to duty. They have not questioned the why, or the wherefore, they have simply, honorably, and valiantly answered the call of their country.

But we are all living with the consequences of this failure in Presidential leadership today:

Iraq continues to explode with sectarian violence.

Reconstruction efforts have not restored Iraq to prewar levels of oil production, security concerns continue to impede progress, while accusations of contractor corruption continue.

We have not been able to internationalize the effort of training and security in Iraq because of the administration's closed-minded decision to keep countries from helping with reconstruction unless they supported the administration's decision to go to war.

On top of the other failures, the administration refused to engage in real diplomacy to create regional security with Iraq's neighbors.

The United States has spent nearly \$319 billion in Iraq. Our monthly burn rate is over \$8 billion. Over 2,500 American lives have been lost, over 18,500 soldiers have been wounded—many of them severely.

And we were all horrified to hear the news just yesterday that two U.S. sol-

diers, PFC Kristian Menchaca from Houston, TX and PFC Thomas Lowell Tucker, from Madras, OR, were kidnapped and slaughtered by the insurgents.

My heart goes out to the families of these soldiers and to all who have lost loved ones in Iraq.

I believe we have paid a heavy price for the war in Iraq—in blood and in national treasure.

But we must account for not only the literal cost of the war but also what we have not done because of the war—the opportunity cost of the war in Iraq.

We also cannot forget that our fight against terrorism started where it should have in Afghanistan. But because of the President's war in Iraq, this administration then took our eye off the ball in Afghanistan.

The administration never finished the job in Afghanistan, the birthplace of the Taliban, the home to al-Qaida, the land of Osama bin Laden, and the place where the attacks of 9/11 were planned.

This was the right place to pursue the national security of the United States. It was in Afghanistan that the murderers of September 11 were located. We had Osama bin Laden pinned down in the mountains of Tora Bora. But instead of having a large contingent of the best trained, best equipped, most technologically advanced military in the world go after him, we outsourced the job to Afghanistan warlords. The result? Osama bin Laden got away.

Many of us have been horrified as we have watched the resurgence of the Taliban and strong anti-American sentiment in Afghanistan.

During just the past few weeks, over 250 people have been killed in the upsurge in violence and we see techniques borrowed from Iraq, like the use of improvised explosive devices, now being used in Afghanistan.

According to the New York Times, Pentagon officials say that 32 suicide bombs have been exploded in 2006, which is already 6 more than exploded in all of 2005. Roadside bombings are up 30 percent over last year and the Taliban are fighting in groups triple the size of last year. Just this Monday, we heard reports that the Taliban used women and children as human shields during a fierce firefight with British troops. And after a deadly traffic accident involving the U.S. military, an anti-American riot exploded in Kabul last month. Meanwhile, Bin Laden makes his tapes and remains free.

President Bush's war has also hurt us here at home. The fact is that because of the cost of President Bush's war at almost \$319 billion, we cannot afford to take care of some of the basic needs of our citizens here at home. This administration is cutting funds for firefighters, for education, for our seniors, for healthcare, and for homeland security funding in New Jersey and New York to protect our ports and our transit systems. They are underfunding the very veterans who are securing our